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most religious and conservative and, according to our study of wealth distribution, it is also the poorest. This does not justify Redfield's statement that the barrios have "obviously different cultures," or that "the members of a barrio tend to think and act alike." Indeed, the absence of distinct barrio traditions was striking. No one could be found who knew the history of his barrio. No one knew when the barrio chapel had been built or when the milpa of the chapel had been obtained.

During the Díaz regime, the distinction between the larger and smaller barrios in terms of those of the center and those of the periphery corresponded in some degree to class distinction, since most of the well-to-do *caciques* and merchants lived in the center. Strictly speaking, however, even this distinction was not accurate, since all the larger barrios had their share of the poor and illiterate; and, as we have already seen, parts of the larger barrios are almost as far from the plaza as the most distant smaller ones.

The general tendency since the Revolution, especially during the past twenty years, has been the diminishing of barrio differences. Today an approximately equal distribution of well-to-do and acculturated families are to be found in all the barrios. In fact, Los Reyes, one of the smaller barrios, showed the highest proportion of landholding families. The various barrios now participate much more equally in village life. The distribution of services is no longer limited to the center. By 1943 there were about ten small stores and a few barber shops scattered among the barrios. Similarly, in contrast to Redfield's finding in 1926 that no letters went to the outlying barrios, San Pedro and Los Reyes now receive their share of the mail. It is also doubtful whether there are at present any significant differences in literacy on a barrio basis. Today the contacts between the outlying barrios and the outside is much less mediated through the center. We discovered just as large a percentage of young people from the smaller barrio as from the larger who have gone to study outside of the village. And certainly Redfield's characterization—the smaller as barrios of *tontos*, the larger as barrios of *correctos*—does not apply now.[24]

POPULATION

Tepoztlán had a population of 3,230 according to the Mexican Federal Census of 1940. In 1942 a local census of the village taken by schoolteachers and officials showed a population of 3,517, and by 1947 the population was well over four thousand. It is apparent that the Tepoztecan population, like that of Mexico as a whole, is increasing rapidly.

SIZE AND GROWTH

While we have no exact data on the size of the Tepoztecan population at the time of the Conquest, there is evidence which suggests that it was considerably larger than the present-day population and in fact larger than at any time since the Conquest. The earliest materials from which a reliable population estimate can

[24] For a critical discussion of Redfield's distinction between *tontos* and *correctos*, see Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 430.

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be made date back to about forty years after the Conquest and are found in an unpublished document in the archives of the Indies, cited by Cook and Simpson in their recent study of population changes in central Mexico.[25] These writers give the tribute value for Tepoztlán for 1560 and 1567 as 1,150 and 2,718½ pesos, respectively. Since the assessment at this time was one peso per family head, it is possible to calculate the population. The figure for 1567 is taken as the more reliable one by Cook and Simpson, who point out that the earlier figure was purposely depressed by the Marqués del Valle and his agents to rob the Crown of income.[26] Following the procedure of these same authors in assuming four as the average size of a family, we find that Tepoztlán had a total population of 10,874 in about 1567.[27] This population of 10,874 must refer to the municipio as a whole, rather than to the village of Tepoztlán proper, because it was customary at the time to include the surrounding villages as tributaries of Tepoztlán. But even so, it is the highest figure for Tepoztecan population that has ever been recorded. If we were to judge Tepoztlán by the findings of Cook and Simpson, which indicate that the population of central Mexico as a whole declined by sixty per cent from 1519 to 1570, then the pre-Conquest population of Tepoztlán would have to be put at over 17,000. However, this seems improbable, considering the limited natural resources of the municipio of Tepoztlán.[28] In all probability the decline in the Tepoztecan population during the first forty years after the Conquest was not nearly as great as in other parts of this area, for Tepoztlán suffered no military losses from the Conquest itself, and it was not until the middle thirties and forties that they began to feel seriously the impact of Spanish rule. As we shall see, the large population losses in Tepoztlán occurred later.

Our next bit of evidence on population is found in the work of López de Velasco[29] for the years 1571-73, when Tepoztlán is said to have had 2,600 tributaries, which would give it a population of 10,400. Although Velasco specifically writes of "la villa de Tepuztlan," the number of tributaries undoubtedly refers to Tepoztlán and its surrounding villages. In a document dated 1576 (in the Archivo General de la Nación, México, General de Parte I., 238) quoted by Zavala[30] we

[25] Cook and Simpson, "The Population of Central Mexico," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXI (1948).

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[27] Cook and Simpson believe the 1567 date refers to conditions at about 1560. They write, "The inventory is based upon the real assessments made prior to 1567, and the values there given may, with no great risk of overstatement, be taken as the real values of 1560." *Ibid.*

[28] Recent studies of sample areas in central Mexico suggest an amazingly high pre-Conquest population. Areas which presumably had a population density of almost 600 persons per square mile now show a population density of 38 persons per square mile. See Cook, "Soil Erosion and Population in Central Mexico," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXIV, 1949.

[29] Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y Descripción Universal de las Indias* (Madrid, 1894), p. 204. It is interesting to note how Tepoztlán compared in size with some of the nearby towns. Cuernavaca had 26,800 inhabitants; Yautepec, 18,000; Huaxtepec, 36,000. All of these towns, smaller today, are still larger than Tepoztlán.

[30] Silvio Zavala y María Castelo, *Fuentes para la Historia del Trabajo en Nueva España*, Bk. I (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1939), pp. 144–45.

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are told that the villages of Tepoztlán had 3,000 taxpaying Indians. However, this estimate appears in a petition by nearby *hacendados* for additional labor from the Indian villages and can therefore be presumed to be an overstatement of the actual number.

A much more reliable source of data is a document dated 1580 which gives the number of heads of families, widows, and single adults in each of the six surrounding villages of the municipio. From this document we find that the population of Tepoztlán proper was 5,865 and that of the entire municipio, 7,613.[31] This indicates either a considerable loss in population during the seventies, or that the earlier estimates were excessive. However, other sources tend to confirm the fact that the population was declining rapidly. For example, a document dated July 11, 1590, states, "In the last recount made among the people of the mentioned village there were fifteen hundred and eighty-one taxpayers, including widows and old maids."[32] The same document states that sixty-three Indians would have to give service, based on the tax rate of four men out of every hundred, which means 1,575 taxpayers or a total population of about 6,300. Thus, within the thirty-year period from 1560 to 1590 the population had decreased by over forty per cent. The major causes of this decline were epidemics, reported during the sixties, seventies, and eighties; the losses from the work in the mines of Taxco and Cuautla; and the moving away of Tepoztecans who sought to avoid the high taxes.

Our next data on population are for 1807, when a local census of the village of Tepoztlán was made. This census is especially interesting because of its inclusiveness; it gives us our first mention of the present-day barrios and the names of individuals and house sites by barrios.[33] This census shows a population of 2,540. This means that in the 228-year period from 1579 to 1807 the population of the village of Tepoztlán dropped by 3,284 or 56 per cent.

The nineteenth century was a period of population increase for Tepoztlán, in fact, for the first time since the Conquest. In 1890 the population of the village had risen to 4,163 and that of the municipio as a whole to 8,589.[34] This was the nearest approach to the early colonial and pre-Hispanic population. However, this remarkable comeback was destined to be short-lived, for the Revolution of 1910-20 was especially hard on Tepoztlán. According to the census of 1921 the village population was down to 2,156 and that of the municipio was three thousand.

Since 1921 the population has been increasing rapidly. By 1930 the population of the village was up to 2,580, an increase of 19.7 per cent, and from 1930 to 1940 there was a 29 per cent increase. This rate of increase was much higher than that of Mexico as a whole, which was 18.7 for the same period, and the highest re-

[31] *Indios*, Vol. 1, Exp. 252.
[32] *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, Exp. 797.
[33] *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 356, Exp. 8. A careful search of the census of 1793 of Revillagigedo failed to bring to light any data on Tepoztlán. However, the Ramo de Censo does show a map of the municipio of Tepoztlán with its seven surrounding villages.
[34] Alfonso Luis Velasco, *Geografía y Estadística de la República Mexicana*, Bk. VIII (1890), p. 57.

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corded for a ten-year period. However, it was not quite as high as the increase for the state of Morelos, which was 36.3 for the same ten-year period.[88]

In analyzing the reasons for the recent rapid rise in the Tepoztecan population we must consider the decades 1920-30 and 1930-40 separately, for the factors at work were distinct. During 1920-30 Tepoztlán was going through a transition period, struggling to get back to normalcy after the devastating effects of the Revolution when practically the entire population was forced to flee. It is therefore probable that the 19 per cent increase in population during 1920-30 was due to the influx of returning families from their forced exile, in addition to the rate of natural increase. After 1930 few families returned to the village. On the contrary individuals began to leave, especially after the construction of the new road in 1936 and increased contacts with the outside. The increase of 29 per cent between 1930-40 must therefore be explained primarily in terms of the sharp decline in the mortality rates, especially infant mortality. This point will be treated later.

In reviewing the history of population growth in Tepoztlán we can distinguish four major periods: two of decline and two of increase. The first period was one of decline following the Conquest. We have suggested that, unlike the findings for central Mexico as a whole where the sharpest decline occurred within the first fifty years after the Conquest, this process in Tepoztlán was delayed and decline did not set in heavily until after 1560. From 1560 to 1804 there was a decline of over 70 per cent. The reasons for this decline have already been mentioned. The second period was one of rapid growth during the nineteenth century and up to 1910. The third period was again one of sharp decline until 1921. And the fourth period has been one of rapid increase. By and large the population curve for Tepoztlán is very much like that of Mexico as a whole and is stark testimony to the many upheavals suffered by Tepoztlán and the nation.

TABLE 4. Population of Tepoztlán and Surrounding Villages of the Municipio

Village	1579	1890	1940
Tepoztlán	5,824	4,163	3,259
Santa Catarina	238	1,214	991
San Andrés	235	781	317
Santiago	385	276	216
Amatlán	481	211	162
Santo Domingo	233	1,114	444
San Juan	176	676	499
Ixcatepec	—*	154	111
El Parque	—	—	64
Total	7,572	8,589	6,034

* Ixcatepec became a separate village in the early part of the eighteenth century. Formerly it was considered a barrio of Tepoztlán.

Before leaving the subject of population changes, it might be well to summarize and compare the relative concentration of the population of Tepoztlán proper and the surrounding villages since the sixteenth century. This is shown in Table 4.

[88] Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 39.

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It can be seen from Table 4 that the population history of each of the villages has been quite varied. Perhaps the most striking thing about these figures is the much greater concentration of population in Tepoztlán (76 per cent of the total in 1579 as against 48 per cent of the total in 1890 and as compared with 1940). This difference may reflect the early Spanish policy of attempting to concentrate as many people as possible in a central administrative town where control was easier.

SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION

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The 1940 sex and age distribution of the population shows a perfectly even distribution by sexes, with 1,615 men and 1,615 women. These figures do not agree with data from the local village census of 1943 with which I have worked and which seem much more reliable. According to this census there was a total population of 3,517, with 1,851 men and 1,666 women. That there are more men than women in the population is also supported by the data on the distribution of recorded births by sex in the village over a ten-year period from 1933 through 1942. From a total of 2,676 recorded births, 1,391 or 52 per cent were male and 1,285 or 48 per cent were female.

A comparison of the age distribution of Tepoztlán with that of rural Mexico as a whole reveals some interesting factors. (See Table 5.)

TABLE 5. Comparison of Distribution of Tepoztecan Population with Population of Rural Mexico by Age Group.

Age Group	Per Cent of Total Population	
	Tepoztlán	Rural Mexico
Under 5	13.03	15.3
5-9	15.75	15.1
10-14	14.24	12.5
15-19	10.17	10.0
20-24	4.48	7.6
25-29	5.47	7.9
30-34	5.94	6.5
35-39	7.23	6.8
40-44	4.54	4.6
45-49	4.24	3.7
50-54	3.86	2.9
55-59	3.28	2.1
60-64	2.66	2.1
65-69	1.79	1.1
70-74	0.98	0.8
75-79	0.74	0.4
80-84	0.68	0.3
85-89	0.27	0.1
90 and over	—	0.1

On the whole, Tepoztecan figures follow national figures closely. Thus, 28.8 per cent of the Tepoztecan population is less than ten years of age as compared with 30.4 for all of rural Mexico. However, there is a striking difference in the distribution for the age groups from 20 to 30 years. The Tepoztecan figures are

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culture quite attractive. One might ask therefore why more people do not work *tlacolol*. There are a number of reasons. First, the difficulty of the work discourages many, and the fact that *tlacolol* has traditionally been viewed as work for the poor is also undoubtedly a factor. Second, many families who have worked as peons have no corn at the harvest and have to seek some cash income regularly to support their families. In other words, even in the case of *tlacolol* which takes so little capital a man must have corn to support his family if he is to spend the long periods of time necessary for clearing the scrub forest. Third, and by far the most important consideration, is the limited amount of *tlacolol* land; a shortage which is being felt more and more as the number of *tlacololeros* has increased. The *tlacolol* system of cutting and burning, by its very nature, demands large reserve areas; it takes about ten years for cleared land to grow back into scrub forest and be worth clearing again. If all the villagers were to open *tlacolol* clearings in a single year, there would be no possibility of planting in new clearings again for at least ten years.

The costs of hoe culture in terms of the value of man-days are much higher than in plow culture, but by the same token little hired labor is used. *Tlacolol* is practical only for people with a lot of time and little capital. It is much too inefficient a system for production for the market on a large scale. As we have seen in Table 37, there is considerable range in costs even in hoe culture. Most of this range in the cases cited is due to the difference between the two types of terrain used in hoe culture, that is, *cerro tlacolol* and *texcal tlacolol*. In the *cerro*, fencing is a much more time-consuming operation because there is more danger of cattle getting into the fields, but cattle rarely get into the *texcal*.

This brings us to one of the crucial problems in Tepoztlán, namely, the rapid increase of population with no accompanying increase in resources or improvement in production techniques. On the contrary, the increase in the number of *tlacololeros* represents a return to a more primitive type of production in an effort to escape the devastating effects of a money economy during a period of inflation. We have already noted the sharp rise in the cost of renting or buying a team of oxen as well as other tools of plow culture, and we have also noted that only about one-third of all landowners have their own oxen teams. Labor costs have also gone up, and indeed the wages paid to day laborers in Tepoztlán are considerably higher than in other parts of Mexico, perhaps because of the proximity of Tepoztlán to large urban centers. In any case these costs are beyond the capacity of many Tepoztecans, and they turn to *tlacolol*. *Tlacolol* has eased for many the shock of the rapid rise in prices. Although it is helping to resolve the immediate problem, it by no means offers a satisfactory solution. In fact, it increases the problems to be faced.

Were Tepoztlán a primitive culture with the usual high birth rate and high death rate, and stable and small population, the technique of *tlacolol*, though wasteful and inefficient, might be workable. But in the face of an ever-increasing population and higher standards of living, the primitive techniques of *tlacolol* no longer seem to be feasible. The necessity of clearing new plots of land every third year, the rapid depletion of the land and its forest resources, and the consequent danger of erosion are problems which will soon have to be reckoned with.

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aged foods, mostly to the employed people who live in the center. Old women sold ready-made tortillas in the plaza. There was still no restaurant but there were more saloons. A blare of radios came from the houses and inside some homes one saw a new kerosene or Coleman stove, aluminum pots, kerosene or gasoline lamps, forks, and hand presses for shaping tortillas. At least one home had overstuffed furniture.

But many more changes have occurred than meet the eye. As a result of the population increase—from 3,500 in 1940 to approximately 4,800 in 1957—there is a shortage of housesites and housing, and Tepoztecans petitioned the local government to make available some of the nearby communal lands for new housesites. Several homes have been built on the outskirts of the village and in the surrounding *cerros*. Formerly it was not customary to rent a house; if a Tepoztecan had an extra house he would allow another villager to use it simply for the care of it. Now rental has become quite usual.

Since the late forties Tepoztlán has had a resident doctor and since 1952 a doctor from Cuernavaca who formerly practiced in the village has come once a week to see his patients. The clientele of both doctors has been increasing. In 1950, the resident doctor had an average of 75 patients a month; by 1956 the average was 160. Tepoztecans now complain about the expense of medicines and the delay caused by having prescriptions filled in Cuernavaca; the local "druggist" cannot fill prescriptions and carries few patent medicines. The village has a free federal government health clinic which cares for children and pregnant women and administers injections. About ten patients, most of them expectant mothers, come there every day. In 1955 approximately two thousand vaccinations and revaccinations were given.

The clinic and the doctor have by no means replaced the *curanderos*, however. Tepoztecans believe that doctors can cure only certain diseases, and still frequent *curanderos* for those illnesses which they attribute to *los aires*, anger, hot or cold foods, evil eye, and sorcery. Most births are still attended by the native midwives. If the doctor happens to cure an illness thought to be caused by *los aires*, this is taken as proof that the *aires* were not truly the cause. Although the villagers have substituted new terms for old concepts—for example, *los aires* are now sometimes described as tiny animals or microbes and injections are called "cleansings"—it is questionable whether this represents much of a departure from the earlier magical thinking about the causes of disease.

Like many villages in the densely populated central plateau area, Tepoztlán has not had the benefit of the great new hydroelectric and irrigation projects. Its agricultural base has remained very much the same; there has been no mechanization and no new important cash crops have been introduced. The peasants continue to work their land as before, although a few are now using some commercial fertilizer. Because the lack of change in agriculture combined with the rapidly increasing population has forced Tepoztecans to seek work in nonfarm occupations, a much lower proportion of the gainfully occupied are now peasants. The federal campaign for the preservation of